34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the machete are characteristically simple but well made, although a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing objects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns traded from the frontier Jívaro.

Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely employed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a fragment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*taračī*) over one shoulder (see Plate 4).

Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty.

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

21. Three excellent examples of *tsantsa* (shrunken head trophies). The long cotton strings dangling from the mouths are put on only at the time of the third and last *tsantsa* feast (photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).

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/p. 138-F/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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787 23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemä*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemä* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighborhood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitating him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is
[532] then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *muisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sometimes is also placed under each eyelid, filling any slight aperture which may remain.

A total of approximately six days of such intermittent preparation is normally involved in the preparation of the *tsantsa* until it is its final size, slightly larger than a man's fist. The last day of work on the trophy is usually spent in the forest within a few hours' walk from the neighborhood where the first *tsantsa* celebration or feast will take place. So that the head-taker will be able to hang the *tsantsa* from his neck in the celebration, a hole is made in the top of the head and a doubled *kumai* bark string is inserted and tied to a short stick of chonta palm on the inside.

When the war party arrives at the neighborhood from which they departed, they do not go directly to the *wea*'s house but rather to the home of a nearby neighbor. A young man is sent to advise the *wea* that "now we are coming with plenty of dried fish," alluding to the heads of the Achuara. The *wea* then sends him and others to inform households in his own and adjacent neighborhoods of the victory and to tell them to come in two days to attend the first *tsantsa* celebration (*numpey*) which is held at the newly built house of the *wea*.

The *wea* also immediately goes to visit the war party at the neighbor's house. Each head-taker holds up his *tsantsa*, wrapped in cloth "to keep the hair in place," for inspection by the *wea*, who parts the fabric, bends down and smells each one, saying, "It is delicious fish. It has an excellent smell." After having thus inspected the results of the raid, the *wea* returns home. In two days, the war party follows, is joined at the *wea*'s house by their relatives and neighbors, and all participate together in a brief, two day, version of the *tsantsa* celebration (see pp. 146–47 for the basic religious ideas involved in this and the subsequent feasts).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

574 765 796 occasion would cause him to lose, rather than to gain, prestige. Guests at the feasts usually number up to about 125–150 persons, and mainly come from the local neighborhoods. Since these last two feasts, totaling eleven days of unremitted hospitality, must be supplied from the same harvest, often little food remains in the gardens at the end of the celebrations. Not uncommonly, the host and his family are forced onto a relatively meager diet for some months thereafter until the gardens can recover from their near-exhaustion. Sometimes such a large amount of the gardens' supply of manioc is consumed that the host is unable to follow the second feast with the third. There is no stigma attached to this, but it means that the *tsantsa* never undergoes its final modification.

765 532 [796] [283] When, and if, all three feasts have been given, the chonta pins and palm-fiber string are removed from the mouth of the *tsantsa* and replaced with long white cotton strings (see Plate 21). The reason given for not using cotton strings during the shrinking stage is that they would have burned. The strings, two to each of the three lip holes, are intertwined near the mouth and dangle below as much as a yard, transected by three horizontal red bands of achiote paint. Often miniature ear ornaments of red and yellow toucan breast feathers are also hung from the ears at this time, the most correctly made examples having three such pendants from each lobe. In this finished form, the *tsantsa* may be kept as a decorative keepsake in the house for years. It may be worn by the head-taker on solitary, meditative walks in the forest, or in social dances at his house, and, if not eventually traded to the whites, it may finally be buried with him.[4]

[353] [301] [535] [439] [764] The primary purpose of the *tsantsa* feast, from the Jívaro point of view, is not supernatural, although that is recognized by them as a secondary purpose; but is to acquire prestige, friendship, and obligations through being recognized as

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34:Harner E-4,5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Rio Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

171 439 177 765 • 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.